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### His or hers the dichotomy of urban and rural dominant kinship networks: A functional explanation

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HIS OR HERS  
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DOMINANT KINSHIP NETWORKS:  
A FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION

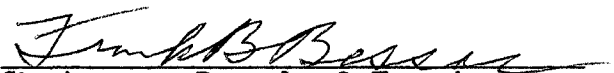
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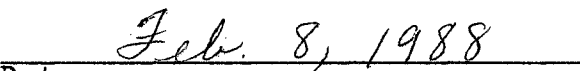
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requirements for the degree of

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"Oh, you can't help that,"

said the Cat: "we're all  
mad here. I'm mad. You're mad."

"How do you know I'm  
mad?" said Alice.

"You must be," said the Cat,  
"or you wouldn't have come here."

- Lewis Carroll -

Timmons, Mark Wm., M.A., November 1987 Anthropology

His or Hers, The Dichotomy of Urban and Rural  
Dominant Kinship Networks: A Functional Explanation  
(165 pp.)

Director: Professor Frank B. Bessac *FBB*

The dichotomy between urban and rural dominant kinship networks was the focus of this thesis. It presented the proposition that there are differences between the gender orientations in rural and urban dominant kinship networks and, further, that these differences were generated by different economic bases. It was expected that the rural paternal network would be the dominant network in that environment, due to the requirements of life on the family farm. Further, I expected to find that the rural environment with its different economic requirements would produce a different view of the world, that would be expressed in what Pitt-Rivers called a principle of "Kinship jural amity". In contrast, it was proposed that the urban environment would produce a stronger maternal kinship network with corresponding differences in the views of kinship duties and obligations.

In this thesis I concluded, with the data on hand, that the rural environment, with its farming economic base, produced a dominant paternal kinship network with a strong inbound orientation. This sociological subsystem, in turn, generates an ideological subsystem that exhibits a strong sense of jural kinship amity.

In contrast, in the urban environment, the economic incentives are no longer in operation. There is a shift to a maternal dominant kinship network for the reason of shared economic considerations. There is a smaller number of overall visitations in the urban environment than in the rural. Further, there is a change in the ideological subsystem: the attitude of kinship jural amity seems to be fairly well diminished in importance.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, it is my premise that there is a difference between dominant kinship networks in rural and urban social systems, and that these differences are the result of different economic needs or requirements. Also, it is my belief that, in conjunction with these different dominant kinship networks, I will find a corresponding difference between rural and urban ideological beliefs or expressions. Of course, I can not take credit for this line of thought; after all, many anthropologists have expressed a belief that economics has a direct bearing on social systems and, in turn, on ideological systems. Along this line I think it is important to note that, to a very large degree, this thesis is based on the same premise that Leslie A. White (1949) expressed in his work. White divided culture into three subsystems, each of which has a direct bearing on the other two. The basic subsystem is the technological subsystem, which allows man to extract energy from the environment in order to live. White was

not talking about the tools that man uses; rather he was referring to the different strategies that man uses to exploit the environment, such as hunting and gathering, or farming. I prefer to refer to this level of culture as economic rather than technological. White's second subsystem of culture is the sociological, the rules by which a society functions. The third subsystem of culture consists of the ideological subsystem which is concerned with a set of beliefs in which, or by which, man interprets and explains those things in the world around him as well as his relationship to the cosmos and the supernatural.

These subsystems do not exist in isolation; rather they directly influence one another. The technological, or economic, subsystem directly influences the sociological then both, in turn, influence the ideological subsystem. Therefore, as a culture moves through time and space and in the process changes, or should we say evolves, the technological or economic underpinnings of a culture or society change; accordingly the sociological and finally the ideological functions of that technological or economic base also change. It is also important to note that, although an economic base may change quite rapidly, the sociological and ideological functions often change much more slowly,

with the ideological subsystem usually being the last to respond. There is thus a cause-and-effect relationship, but it is not a simple lineal mechanical reaction. Rather there is a great deal of interaction between variables that determine cultural and social outcomes (White 1949:362-364).

Since my interest is in the dichotomy that exists between urban and rural kinship networks, I have concentrated on the dominant networks within the extended family. This emphasis on the dominant relationships is also an attempt to determine, as Mitchel described, not only the number of active kin relationships, but also the intensity of their interaction (Mitchel 1969).

Now that I have briefly outlined what I have attempted to accomplish within this thesis, I shall turn to a short review of the way in which the American family has been viewed, both traditionally and within current anthropological and sociological literature. This will be followed by a description of the research rationale and the research methods used to gather the data. Finally, I shall consider the data generated by this project, both in terms of results and the

significance of those results in light of research that has been conducted along similar lines.

Following is a clarification of a few terms that I will be using throughout this thesis. The term rural family refers to farming or ranching families. This term includes members of the rural extended family removed from the rural environment for up to two generations. When I refer to inbound visitations, I mean those to the residence of the senior parental generation. So, in the case of the rural families, inbound visitations are always to the farm; outbound visitations refer to visitations away from the residence of the parental generation to either their children's or their grandchildren's residences. The remaining concepts or terms will be explained throughout the text as the subjects are discussed.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE AMERICAN FAMILY

It has been the traditional view of the modern American, as well as of the Western European industrial, family system that little or no interaction occurs at the extended family level (Moore 1967, Garretson 1976, Hsu 1971, Parsons 1943). Garretson went as far as to state that ". . . extended families are seen as deviant and sometimes as immoral" (1976:118). This view of the American kinship system seems to have originated from the perception that, in an industrial system or society, the extended family plays little or no role.

Moore's view that ". . . the process of industrialization, with its required geographical and social mobility, weakens or breaks the multigenerational and laterally extended kin groups" (1967:45) is consistent with prevalent scholarly views of the American family. Concomitantly, there is an excessive emphasis on the nuclear family as the primary feature of



the industrial kinship system. Moore stated that in "modernized families" there is a social separation between the generations and, as a result, children are no longer an economic asset to their families. This is in contrast to less developed countries in which children are critical economic assets to their families in terms of added labor (Moore 1967). Moore went on to discuss what he viewed as the primary link between generations in modern American society -- the transfer of property. This is a form of "serial service" in which "the initial beneficiaries are passing it on rather than passing it back" (Moore 1967:245). This view of taking and deferred giving appears quite often in the literature when kinship networks in industrial societies are discussed (Moore 1967, Garretson 1976, Hsu 1971, Parsons 1943).

Parsons' statement ". . . that the isolation of the conjugal unit is in strong contrast to much of the historic structure of European Society where it is a source of economic support and economic livelihood" (1943:27-28) is consistent with the unquestioning orientation that has been present in western industrial kinship systems research. In a way, this is not surprising when one considers that Durkheim, Simmel,

Toennies, Mannheim, Linton, Writh, and of course Parsons, to name a few, maintained that the American family is isolated from its extended members (in Sussman and Burchinal 1962). However, new research has thrown some light on the American, as well as western industrial, family networks.

Sussman and Burchinal have pointed out that the myth of the isolated American nuclear family simply is not supported by the evidence, for, if the nuclear family were indeed isolated, there should be little or no exchange of either financial help or of services within the multi-generational kinship network. What they and others have found is that there is extensive interaction between all generations of the American family. Even among the upper class, there is extensive and continuous support, in terms of both financial aid and services. In the case of both the lower and middle class, this exchange flows in both directions (Sussman and Burchinal 1962). Sussman and Burchinal and Stack (1974) found that, among the lower-class families, there was no large-scale exchange of financial services, but there was a great deal of sharing of services as well as non-economic aid, consisting of advice, exchange of services and emotional support. The absence of sharing of economic resources can be viewed quite simply as a

shortage of resources to share. When the middle class was examined, it was found to have a smaller overall amount of network interaction in contrast to the upper and lower classes. The periods of concentration of aid for the middle class occur during times of crisis and ceremonial occasions (Sussman & Burchinal 1962).

It was Sussman and Burchinal's view that, when the family is fully examined in all the economic classes, one would not find an isolated nuclear family (1962). This does not mean that there was never a time when the isolated nuclear family was dominant in western industrial society. During the periods of initial industrialization, there may have been a breakdown of family networks for the reasons I have already stated: the need for a mobile work force.

Baric' (1967) conducted research in Yugoslavia, a country that is in the process of initial industrialization. He found that, although the corporate jural kin groupings have vanished, there remains an extensive kinship network. An example of this is the large number of urban dwellers who have relatives in the countryside. These recent immigrants into industrial society tend to actively maintain their

relationships in the country. The reasons for the maintenance of these kinship ties was due in part to family obligations and in part to the fact that the family farm is a focal point of family unity. This represents a bi-directional flow of aid and services. The operators of the family farm receive help in terms of labor, and the urban dwellers are tied to the farm in terms of inheritance (L. Baric' 1967:12).

Schneider (1968) has conducted extensive work on American kinship. He conducted his research in Chicago and, although a great deal of data were gathered concerning social interaction and the actual behavioral rules of American kinship, he concentrated on the "cultural" underpinnings of kinship. It was Schneider's belief that, because kinship in western society is so sharply differentiated from all other types of social institutions and relationships, he would be able to abstract from the normative system, or social system, the underlying cultural system (1968:v). As a condition of his research, he limited his investigations to the nuclear family and, in fact, stated that "... the family to be a family must live together" (1968:33). Therefore Schneider was interested in

Instead of how does this society organize to accomplish certain tasks (a social question) rather a cultural question of what are the

units, how are they defined in the native culture, interconnections, mode of differentiation, by what symbolic devices do they define the units and relationships and their meanings (Schneider 1972:58).

Although Schneider's work does not have a direct bearing on my concern in this paper, he drew some interesting conclusions about American culture. He believed that American kinship has the same cultural elements as nationality and religion, and possibly education. These elements are a "shared bio-genetic substance" and a "diffuse enduring solidarity". He further stated that the biological elements have a primarily symbolic significance with no real relationship to biology. By diffuse enduring solidarity, Schneider meant a relationship that is supportive and cooperative, that is not confined to a set behavior and that has no time limits set upon it (Schneider 1972).

Schneider stated that social anthropologists have, in the past, only asked questions concerning kinship on the social level and, although he believes there is nothing wrong with that, it led to an inability to distinguish the social aspects from the cultural aspects and, in doing so, it has resulted in some "untenable conclusions". In order to rectify this, all the elements of kinship should be examined, starting

with the cultural elements and then progressing to the other elements of social and ideological organization (1972). I would have to agree that we as anthropologists need to look at kinship in totality; however, I feel that we need to understand the social aspects of a culture in order to understand how kinship functions, on both an economic level and ideological level.

In any case, if there ever was an isolated nuclear family, it is my view that it does not exist now. As Haller (1961) has pointed out, in today's urban environment there is little need for an individual to move on, one can find all the occupations one may be interested in within the confines of the urban centers. He found that it is quite common to find three and four generations of a family living in the same area of an urban center and who have established large family networks within the city (1961:621-622).

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH ORIENTATION

It is the primary proposition of my thesis that there is a difference or dichotomy between the farming and urban dominant kinship networks, and that this dichotomy will be reflected in the visitation patterns of each network. Further, these differences result from different economic subsystems. I expected that the need for extensive cooperation among farming extended families, as Baric' has demonstrated in his work (1967), would continue long after members of the extended family network had left the farm. Baric' found that the cooperation continues for two or three generations after the family members in question have left the farm (1967). This cooperation is expected to take the form of labor, the sharing of equipment, and the exchange of knowledge and should be expressed in the intensity of interaction within the dominant kinship network. In addition, I expected that the primary visitation emphasis would be placed on the male line in the farming dominant networks. The reason

behind this line of thought was that the majority of the means of production (both property and tools) in the United States in farming families is transmitted through the male line. I expected that the farming families would have their dominant kinship networks skewed in favor of the husbands' relatives.

In contrast, in the urban environment, in the United States this specific farming economic incentive is no longer in operation. I expected that there would be a smaller number of visitations. In addition, I expected that the dominant visitation networks would center or focus on the wives' families for reasons that I shall discuss below.

The origin of my line of thought lies both in observations of trends that I have made within my family, as well as in other families, and in studies which I have read. Young and Willmott (1957) studied Bethnal Green Borough, a working-class housing development in East London U.K.. They found that the preferred arrangement for newlyweds was for them to reside with the wife's parents rather than the husband's. In fact more than three quarters of the sample lived in this arrangement. Those who lived with



the husband's family did so against their better judgement because they simply had no choice. There was no room in the wives' parents' residence due to the fact that other siblings had married first and were already living there (Young and Willmott 1957).

In terms of visitations, Young and Willmott found that more than 80 percent of all married women had seen their mothers within the past week, far more often than they saw their fathers, or than their husbands saw their parents (1957:45). The reasons for these close ties seems to be an exchange of services. Mothers are viewed as the core of the social life of a family. Mothers provide and perform many important services for their daughters. These include help given at childbirth, and this help continues throughout life in the form of both advice and aid. Also, daughters reciprocate any time they can, both with help and advice. Young and Willmott viewed these ties as the result of the women sharing the same occupation - housewife and mother. This job reinforces the urban kinship system and makes the mother-daughter tie paramount in the urban dominant kinship network. On the other hand, when Young and Willmott looked at the father-son relationships, they found that fewer than 30 percent of the sons followed in their fathers'

footsteps, thus breaking the tie of similar occupation. This occurred not because of any implied need for geographic mobility, but rather because of the varied economic opportunities that are provided in the industrial environment (1957).

A second study that provided information about the dominance of the mother-daughter relationship in an urban environment is Stack's work in a predominantly Black community in midwestern United States. She found that kinship networks were critical in order for families to survive. However, as noted above, within the urban environment, the emphasis lies with the wives' families. In fact, the tie is so strong that Stack felt that ". . . the recognized mother determines the child's kinship affiliations through females" (1974:49).

Embedded within this female-oriented kinship network was a group of well-defined kinship obligations. The majority of these were centered in the female network. This female orientation, Stack felt, was due to the lack of job opportunities for black men, the control of A.F.D.C. (Aid For Dependent Children) resources by the females, and the constant mobility of

the men (Stack 1974). This example is, of course, not representative of American society in general, however it does illustrate the strong kinship networks that are centered in the wives' families in urban environments.

A third study that is pertinent to this discussion, is Micaela Di Leonardo's analysis of the "work of kinship" among Italian-Americans in Northern California. She was concerned with the interaction between women's kinship relationships and their economic lives; accordingly she looked at more than just the nuclear family. From her research, she concluded that women in a traditional role of housewife were involved in three separate forms of work. These are housework and child care, jobs in the labor market, and the "work of kinship" (Di Leonardo 1987:442).

By the term "work of kinship" Di Leonardo meant

. . . the conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross-household kin ties, including visits, letters, telephone calls, presents, and cards to kin; the organization of holiday gatherings; the creation and maintenance of quasi-kin relations; decisions to neglect or to intensify particular ties; the mental work of reflection about all these activities; and the creation and communication of altering images of family and kin vis-a-vis the images of others, both folk and mass media (Di Leonardo 1987: 442-443).

It was Di Leonardo's view that this resulted

from a "... conscious strategy, as crucial to the functioning of kinship systems ..." (1987:441) and that this is something that "... like housework and child care: men in the aggregate do not do ..." (1987:444). Also women on the whole, had a much better understanding of both their own and their husbands' families, again underscoring the importance of women in the maintenance of kinship relations. Di Leonardo also found that, when the wife was removed from the family, the kinship network quickly fell apart, not only in terms of the wife's family, but also of the husband's (1987).

Di Leonardo speculated on some of the same causes for this structure that I examine in this thesis. She felt that this "... kin work as a separable category of gendered labor perhaps arose ... " because of the process of industrialization in the 19th century in this country (1987:449), when the family farm, business, or male family occupations became obsolete. This in turn forced the males in the family into "... increasingly differentiated and controlled activities ..." that prevented the men from playing a significant role in "kin-related work" (1987:450). Although Di Leonardo did not look at rural populations in her work, she did look at small businessmen,

something I have not done, and found that the males were still extensively involved in "kin-related work" (1987). This would be expected if my ideas about the relationship between economics and kinship are born out. In the small business, as in farming, the primary means of production is based in the male line, and cooperation at critical periods among an extended family becomes paramount.

In the foregoing, I have introduced the general reasoning behind my research orientation, dealing with economics and the corresponding differences in social subsystems, and the expected differences in ideology. I refer to those differences between urban and farming dominant kinship networks and to their members' views on what Julian Pitt-Rivers (1973) called the "principle of jural kinship amity". If different economic subsystems do indeed generate different sociological subsystems, these sociological subsystems should produce different ideological subsystems. These ideological subsystems should change very slowly, since they tend to be more conservative in nature than either the economic or sociological subsystems (White 1949:362-364).

Amity has been defined by Meyer Fortes (1969)

as that "peculiar quality of relationship between kin, that which distinguishes them from other sorts of relationships " (in Pitt-Rivers 1973:89). Pitt-Rivers has taken this concept and expanded it to include sacrifice, both in terms of an expression and as a pledge of mutual amity and dependence on one another. These amiable relations between kin imply a moral obligation to feel, or at least express, emotions that commit the individual to actions of altruism or generosity. This feeling of altruism is expressed when an individual forgoes his or her self-interest for the sake of another, in this case kinsman (Pitt-Rivers 1973:93).

In the case of friendship, there is a requirement of reciprocity; the failure of a person to reciprocate results in the end of the friendship. In contrast, "Altruism is founded on the concept of the unreciprocated gift . . ." (Pitt-Rivers 1973:99), but there must be a repayment in order to establish a moral or jural relationship between the two individuals. This refers to the different systems of reciprocity and the way they operate. In the case of jural kinship amity, I refer to "generalized reciprocity", and in the case of friendship, a form of "balanced reciprocity".

Sahlins has associated "generalized reciprocity" with close kinship ties and has described it as "transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given, and if possible and necessary, assistance returned" (1965:147). Sahlins stated that a "good pragmatic indication of generalized reciprocity is a sustained one-way flow" (1972:194).

In contrast, Sahlins' category of balanced reciprocity is more economic in nature and has less of a personal function. He stated that most balanced reciprocity hinges on the material flow of items, and a good "pragmatic test of balanced reciprocity becomes an inability to tolerate one-way flows" (1972:195).

The concept of amity in kinship is open-ended toward future actions and, although not consciously acted upon, it is implicit in a code of behavior. Therefore, if we define the nature of kinship through this principle of amity, it is important to note that it is not free from jural considerations. Kinship rights and duties are distributed differentially, and their movement from one generation to another also implies differentiation between kinsman (Pitt-Rivers 1973:101).

Therefore, we are looking at jural kinship amity when we are examining both biological and adoptive kinship in Pitt-Rivers view.

Taking a somewhat different tack is Fortes who stated that ". . . familial and kinship norms, relationships, institutions are not reducible to economic factors, or religious, or juridical or any other non-kinship basis" (1969:231), rather to and only to a general principle of kinship morality. Kinsfolk must then, in an ideal sense, share with one another and, at the same time, not put any price on what is being shared. Therefore, ". . . reciprocal giving between kinsfolk is supposed to be done freely and not in submission to coercive sanctions in response to any contractual obligations" (Fortes 1969:238). Thus, in Fortes' view ". . . kinship is binding; it creates inescapable moral claims and obligations" (Fortes 1969:242).

Fortes believed that kinsfolk should reciprocate, on an equal basis, for rendered services or financial resources. However, he did not equate this reciprocation with the concept of jural obligations. Rather, Fortes felt that there are no sanctions that the family can use to enforce these exchanges and,



therefore, one is dealing with just amity not jural amity (1969:246). When I examine both Pitt-Rivers' and Fortes' writings on kinship amity, I see them as having the same concept. Fortes stated there is a need to reciprocate on an equal basis; he simply stated there is no jural mechanism to enforce this. I disagree with this point. Every family has the resources at its disposal to enforce many sanctions. These include a wide variety of sanctions ranging from expressions of displeasure, to fewer visitations or invitations to family functions to shunning and, finally, to disinheritance. In my opinion, these are indeed the jural enforcements to which Pitt-Rivers was referring. Fortes even went as far as to state that, in the case of corporate groups, they are ". . . more of a jural consideration", not just within family groups (1969:306). In either case, whether one calls it jural or moral, as Fortes does, the concept seems to remain the same, that we are dealing with something outside the commonly held view of balanced reciprocity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH METHODS

This thesis is a report of a study of dominant kinship networks. By the very definition of network, the relationships are in flux with no real, clear, or absolute boundaries of interaction (Boissevain and Mitchell 1973). Because networks are based on individuals, the boundaries of actual networks will change over a period of time as the individuals' relationships change. Therefore, I attempted to gather information from a number of different informants at various periods of their lives and in a number of different ways. Hopefully, this has reduced the potential for my forming erroneous conclusions.

The methods used in this thesis are the standard qualitative and quantitative methods traditionally used by anthropologists. These include interviews, questionnaires and comparative research. My original pilot study was conducted in the fall of 1983 at the University of Montana. The subjects consisted of

the members of that quarter's Introductory Anthropology class (Anthropology 101). The second set of subjects was also made up of members of an Anthropology 101 class sampled in the fall of 1985. A third set of questionnaires was distributed in the Spring of 1986 to another Introductory Anthropology class. Unlike the first two, this survey asked about outbound visitation patterns, whereas the two previous questionnaires had concentrated solely on inbound visitation patterns (Figures 1 and 2). All the participants were given the same set of instructions. They were asked to answer the questionnaires in terms of the time they were still living at their parents' homes.

The questionnaires (Figures 1 and 2) consisted of sets of questions that pertained to visitation patterns but which also included backup information. This information was solicited to determine if there were other factors, in addition to economic considerations, influencing the visitation patterns. These additional questions requested information on age, sex, occupation, duration of parents' marriages, educational levels, religious preferences and where the participants lived and from where they moved. In the visitation questions, the subjects were asked to list the number of times a year that they, as a family, went

FIGURE 1  
OUTBOUND  
KINSHIP VISITATION PATTERNS  
QUESTIONNAIRE

(1) HOW OLD ARE YOU ? \_\_\_\_\_

(2) WHAT SEX ARE YOU ? \_\_\_\_\_

(3) WHERE DID YOU GROW UP ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(4) ON YOUR MOTHERS SIDE, HOW MANY

UNCLES ? \_\_\_\_\_

AUNTS ? \_\_\_\_\_

(5) ON YOUR FATHERS SIDE, HOW MANY

UNCLES ? \_\_\_\_\_

AUNTS ? \_\_\_\_\_

(6) YOUR PARENTS

A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?

B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ? \_\_\_\_\_

C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ? \_\_\_\_\_

D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(7) YOUR MOTHERS PARENTS

A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?

---

B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ?

---

C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?

---

D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?

---

E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ?

---

F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?

---

G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?

---

(8) YOUR FATHERS PARENTS

A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?

---

B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ?

---

C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?

---

D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?

---

E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ?

---

F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?

---

G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?

---

HOW OFTEN, WHY AND WHAT TIME DURING THE YEAR  
DID YOU VISIT THEM :

(9) ON YOUR MOTHERS SIDE

A - HER PARENTS ?

---

B - UNCLES ?

---

C - AUNTS ?

---

(10) ON YOUR FATHERS SIDE

A - HIS PARENTS ?

---

B - UNCLES ?

---

C - AUNTS ?

---

FIGURE 2  
INBOUND  
KINSHIP VISITATION PATTERNS  
QUESTIONNAIRE



- (1) HOW OLD ARE YOU ? \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) WHAT SEX ARE YOU ? \_\_\_\_\_
- (3) WHERE DID YOU GROW UP ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (4) ON YOUR MOTHERS SIDE, HOW MANY  
UNCLES ? \_\_\_\_\_  
AUNTS ? \_\_\_\_\_
- (5) ON YOUR FATHERS SIDE, HOW MANY  
UNCLES ? \_\_\_\_\_  
AUNTS ? \_\_\_\_\_
- (6) YOUR PARENTS  
A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?  
B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ?  
C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?  
D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?  
\_\_\_\_\_

(7)

YOUR MOTHERS PARENTS

A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?

---

B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ?

---

C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?

---

D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?

---

E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ?

---

F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?

---

G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?

---

(8)

YOUR FATHERS PARENTS

A - WHAT DID OR DO THEY DO FOR A LIVING ?

---

B - HOW LONG HAVE THEY BEEN MARRIED ?

---

C - WHAT IS THEIR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?

---

D - WHAT IS THEIR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?

---

E - WHERE DO THEY LIVE ?

---

F - HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?

---

G - WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?

---

HOW OFTEN, WHY AND WHAT TIME DURING THE YEAR  
DID THEY VISIT YOU :

(9) ON YOUR MOTHERS SIDE

A - HER PARENTS ?

---

B - UNCLES ?

---

C - AUNTS ?

---

(10) ON YOUR FATHERS SIDE

A - HIS PARENTS ?

---

B - UNCLES ?

---

C - AUNTS ?

---

to visit their grandparents, uncles, aunts, and their reasons as well as the time of year that they visited. In the third questionnaire (Figure 3) I reversed the focus and asked how often the grandparents, uncles and aunts visited the subject's family.

In the initial study, a total of 73 questionnaires were filled out; of these 73, 60 were randomly selected to be interviewed. This was done to determine if there was any deviation of their verbal responses from their written ones. This cross-check indicated that there was no variation between the two types of answers. Having determined, through the cross-check, that the answers I received on the questionnaires were reliable, I distributed the second set of questionnaires to another Anthropology 101 class. There was a total of 60 subjects in this second sample, resulting in a total of 133 subjects in the inbound study group. Of these 133 subjects, only 30 were from rural families.

The third sample, concerned with outbound visitation patterns, was also obtained from the students of Anthropology 101, in the spring of 1986. This sample consisted of 30 participants, of whom 8 were from a rural background.

In all three samples, each of the participants' questionnaires was listed separately by questionnaire number, then cataloged by responses to individual questions. This resulted in each questionnaire number having information about the geographic location of each relative, parents' occupations, and the number of visitations made each year to those relatives (see Tables 1 and 2, pp. 61-75). Beyond this, each category of inquiry was broken down by its totals as well as by percentages and averages (see Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, pp. 76-107).

The fourth and final survey was conducted solely by interview, in the spring of 1986 in Missoula, and in the Flathead valley of Western Montana. A total of 40 families was sampled. They were divided evenly between farming and urban backgrounds. The sample taken from the urban environment was divided evenly between a blue collar and white collar neighborhood. The rural or farming sample was taken from family farms rather than corporate farms.

In order to maintain the integrity of the interview process, I asked a set of questions of each

participant (see Figure 3). As in Tables 1 and 2, interviews were then listed separately by an interview number and responses were broken down by the individual questions that were asked (Table 3 pp. 76). Each category of inquiry was again broken down by totals as well as percentages and averages (see Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, pp. 108-125).

Whereas the first three surveys were concerned either with inbound or outbound visitation patterns, I dealt with both inbound and outbound patterns in the same family in the interviews. The interview data were also primarily concerned with the nuclear family, while the other two had dealt with three-generation extended families. Further, whereas the first two surveys had asked visitation questions from the perspective of the children, the interviews asked the parents how often they visited their children or received visitations from them. Thus, I was again getting a slightly different view of the way the visitation patterns are functioning.

In addition to the categories of information that were gathered in the first three surveys (i.e. geographic data, religion, education, etc.) one other area of inquiry was added. During the interviews in the

FIGURE 3  
INTERVIEW  
KINSHIP VISITATION PATTERNS  
QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1) HOW OLD ARE YOU ? \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) HOW MANY DAUGHTERS ?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
SONS \_\_\_\_\_
- (3) WHAT DID OR DO YOU DO FOR A LIVING ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (4) HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN MARRIED ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (5) WHAT IS YOUR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (6) WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (7) WHERE DO YOUR CHILDREN LIVE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (8) HOW LONG HAVE THEY LIVED THERE ?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- (9) WHERE DID THEY MOVE FROM ?  
\_\_\_\_\_



HOW OFTEN, WHY AND WHAT TIME DURING THE YEAR  
DID YOU VISIT THEM :

(10) YOUR DAUGHTERS ?

---

B - SONS ?

---

HOW OFTEN, WHY AND WHAT TIME DURING THE YEAR  
DID THEY VISIT YOU :

(11) YOUR DAUGHTERS ?

---

B - YOUR SONS ?

---

first surveys, the participants had been asked in greater detail why and when they visited their grandparents. After this information was gathered, I decided that the reasons behind the visitations were critical to the understanding of the kinship networks, so I included this inquiry in the interviews.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESEARCH RESULTS

I have presented a number of research propositions in this paper; in this chapter, I will examine each of these in light of the information gathered. My primary research proposition stated that I would find some significant differences between the dominant kinship networks of urban and rural families. The need for extensive co-operation among rural families, in terms of information, goods and labor, would be expressed in a kinship network dominant in the male line.

In contrast, among urban families that have been removed from the family farm for at least two generations, the economic incentives that exist in the rural environment no longer exist in the urban environment. I would expect to find, overall, a smaller number of visitations occurring, and the dominant kinship network established in the female line, for the reasons discussed above.

When the data are examined (see Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128), one can see a confirmation of my initial propositions. There is a dramatic difference in the number of paternal visits made inbound to the farm compared with the number of inbound visitations made in the urban environment. When the inbound questionnaire data and the inbound interview data are examined, one can see similar responses. In the farming segment, visitations made to the fathers' parents range between 53.290 to 57.581 per year for the rural sample and only 2.225 to 5.471 per year for the urban sample (Table 15, pp 126). When the interview sample is examined, the same inbound pattern emerges. Sons come to visit the farm an average of 67.50 to 73.50 times a year, whereas urban sons only return to their parents' home an average of 5 to 10.75 times a year (Table 17, p. 128).

When the question of the number of visitations made outbound from the farm is examined, a different pattern emerges. The outbound questionnaire revealed that the urban sample had a higher number of visitations; the average for the urban participants was 5.136 to 6.818 per year compared with the range of rural visits of 0.625 to 1.75 per year. The data from

the interviews also fell into this pattern. Urban visitations to the son's residence ranged between 2.60 to 5.75 per year as compared with the rural range of 0.70 to 3.10 per year (Table 16, p. 127).

Now, I consider the question of the other paternal visits, of those visits to paternal aunts and uncles. When we examine the inbound sample we find that the rural segment of the sample visited their paternal uncles on an average of 24.714 to 30.179 times per year. The urban average was only 0.939 to 2.245 visitations per year. When the data concerned with visitations to the paternal aunts are examined, one can see that the rural segment of the sample made between 9.786 to 14.857 visitations per year, whereas the urban sample only made between 0.876 to 1.948 visitations per year (Table 15, p. 126).

After examining the inbound network data for the paternal side of the family, it is appropriate to examine the nature of outbound visitation patterns. If one examines the outbound survey data and the interview results, one sees a very different pattern emerging. Examining the number of visits outbound from the farm, one can see that only 0.625 to 1.75 visitations per year are made by the (sample's) paternal grandparents (Table

16, p. 127). In comparison, the urban sample's range of visits from their paternal grandparents is 5.136 to 6.818 per year. The data from the interview sample confirm this trend. The outbound range yielded by the rural interviews was 0.70 to 3.10 per year, whereas the urban sample was between 2.60 and 5.75 visitations per year (Table 17, p. 128).

Outbound visitations from the survey population's paternal uncles and aunts again confirm this different pattern. The rural outbound data indicated that the paternal uncles' visits averaged between 0.75 and 0.875 times per year as compared with the urban range of 4.190 to 5.095 per year (Table 16, p. 127).

The visitation rate for the sample's paternal aunts in the rural segment averaged from 0.625 to 0.75 per year. The frequency of urban visitations ranged 2.286 to 2.905 per year, again confirming the pattern already established (Table 16, p. 127).

It is apparent that there is quite a dichotomy between inbound and outbound visitation patterns in the rural paternal sample. A significant

number of visitations is being made to the farm by the rural population. The sons within the inbound paternal network average 70.5 visitations per year yet, when the outbound data are examined, an average of only 1.9 visitations are being made per year. This is quite a startling difference within a single network segment (Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128).

This difference also seems to obtain in the remainder of the rural paternal pattern. The difference between inbound and outbound visits among paternal aunts and uncles is also extensive. Larger numbers of visitations were made inbound, to the farm; for the paternal uncle, this is an average of 27.447 per year as compared with an average outbound figure of 0.813 per year. The paternal aunts also exhibit a large difference between their inbound and outbound trips. There is an average of 12.322 visitations per year for the inbound sample and, for the outbound sample, an average of 0.688 visitations per year. In this case there are not as many visitations compared with the other portions of the paternal network, but the difference between inbound and outbound visitations remains impressive (Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128).

There is also a difference between the

inbound and outbound patterns in the urban population. However, the difference is not quite as apparent as in the rural sample. The urban paternal network simply does not exhibit the intensity or the direction of the rural paternal network. Sons return to their parents' homes, at the most, an average of 3.848 times a year, and the outbound pattern is almost double that figure at 7.875 visitations per year. This is an impressive difference, however, what is truly notable is that there is a complete reversal of the flow of the paternal network in an urban environment. It no longer flows toward the parents' home, but rather to the children's residence (Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128).

The flow continues in the outbound direction in the pattern of urban paternal aunt's and uncle's visitation. The uncles are returning to their parent's homes 2.245 times a year and the outbound maximum is 5.095 visitations a year, more than twice the number of visitations that had been made inbound.

The paternal aunts' visitation networks also follow this pattern. Inbound visits average a maximum of 1.948 per year, a figure smaller than the outbound number of 2.905 per year. Although the difference is



not as large as in the other urban paternal data, the pattern remains the same -- an outbound visitation network as opposed to the rural inbound network (Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128).

Now I will examine the other side of the question, that of the maternal kinship visitation networks (see Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128). The members of the rural survey population visit their maternal grandparents an average of 3.388 to 7.033 times a year. In the interview data, I found a much larger range in the frequency of inbound visitations occurring, 24.25 to 37.60 per year. Examining the urban inbound visitation patterns from the questionnaires, I found that the number of visits ranges from 9.666 to 12.5 per year, and from the interview data, the visits range from 23.10 to 25.75 per year. Again there is a significant difference between the data of the interview and the survey.

In terms of the frequency of inbound visitations by maternal aunts, the rural sample makes between 1.069 and 2.896 visitations per year. The urban range is slightly larger at 3.701 to 5.474 visitations a year. The inbound visitations to the maternal uncles in the rural sample ranges from 0.897 to 3.069 visitations

per year. The urban range of visitations is between 2.101 and 4.812. In the case of both the maternal uncles and aunts, the number of visitations in the rural and urban sample falls into each other's ranges. However, the rural sample has a smaller number of visitations at the lower end of its range, and the urban sample has a high number of visitations at the upper end of its range (Table 15, p. 126).

Turning to the outbound visitations in the maternal family, the maternal grandparents in the rural sample visited an average of between 5.375 and 6.625 times per year. Their urban counterparts made 8.182 to 11.091 visitations each year. In the same category of information in the interview data, the rural sample range is 2.05 to 4.80 visitations per year. In comparison, the urban maternal grandparent's range is between 3.85 and 7.95 visitations per year (Tables 16 and 17, pp. 127-128).

The data from the outbound interviews for the rural population shows that the parents are visiting their daughters between 2.05 to 4.80 times per year. This can be compared with the urban range of 3.85 to 7.95 visitations a year (Table 17, p. 127).

Outbound visitations to the maternal aunts in the rural population show a range of 3.875 to 5.125 visitations per year, which falls into the range of the urban sample of 4.333 to 5.762 per year. The outbound visitations to the maternal uncles do not fall into each other's ranges. The rural sample made only 2.5 to 3.875 visitations a year, whereas the urban sample made 4.409 to 6.095 visitations per year. The maternal data exhibit a significant difference between the information gathered by means of survey and interview. At first it appeared that this may be the result of a potential sample error; however, I believe that there were two different types of information in each data set. The surveys were filled out by students, therefore we see the visitation patterns or networks from the perspective of the children. The visitations that were reported are those of a family unit and not those made only by one or both parents (Table 16, p. 127).

In contrast, the data in the interviews are from the perspective of the parents. These visitations are therefore not necessarily those of a family unit. Rather, I feel that visitations were made are by the daughter and not the daughter's family. This is an example of Young and Willmont's (1957) exchange of

services between mothers and daughters discussed above. To verify this interpretation, I returned to the field and re-checked with thirty of my informants who, in turn, verified this view. In both the rural and urban interview data sets, at least one half the inbound visitations are made only by the daughter, those primarily for advice or information in an informal setting, such as for coffee or tea. Now, after attempting to explain the difference between the data sets from the interview and the survey, I turn my attention to a comparison of their data.

As predicted, there is a dichotomy between the urban and rural dominant kinship networks. The rural network has a definite paternal orientation; however, the network is primarily unidirectional, that is, inbound to the farm. The outbound information shows little of a paternal network, for almost no visitations occurred. This inbound pattern is reversed in the paternal urban data. The urban paternal network is slightly oriented toward the category of outbound visitations (Tables 15, 16 and 17, pp. 126-128).

In contrast, in the urban environment, visits have a maternal orientation, although it was not

as strong or as extensive as the rural paternal network. Further, the maternal network does not seem to be as one-sided as its paternal rural counterpart. Rather, similar numbers of visitations occurred in both inbound and outbound directions. The only exceptions to this rule are the inbound visitations in the maternal rural and urban environment in the interview data sets, a phenomenon that has already been considered and one that represents a separate mother-and-daughter network for advice rather than visitations made by the family as a unit. In either case, the mother-daughter oriented network is stronger in the urban environment when compared with the urban paternal network. It also shows a slight inbound orientation, however this is minimal compared with the extent of the rural paternal skew toward the inbound visitation network.

In fact, there are not only differences in the gender orientation of rural and urban kinship networks, but also differences in the dominant directional orientation and in the intensity of interaction in the dominant kinship networks.

The urban dominant kinship network is maternal, predominately inbound in orientation, and of low intensity. Two exceptions are the maternal aunts and

uncles who have an outbound orientation. This was not expected. However, the differences between the inbound and outbound ranges of these visitations is slight. What is apparent is an inbound orientation on the parental level and a maternal dominant network in the urban population. This was expected, in terms of both my research proposition and the background research. Stack (1974), Young and Willmont (1957) and Di Leonardo (1987) have conducted research showing the dominance of the maternal network in the urban environment. Young and Willmont felt that the close ties between mother and daughter in the urban environment resulted from an exchange of services or information. The women in their research group viewed themselves as performing the same kinds of job; the males in their research group did not follow the same lines of work as their fathers. Thus there was no tie of professional orientation, resulting in the mother-daughter relationship becoming paramount and the mother being viewed by the entire family as the core of the social family.

In contrast, the core of the rural family seems to be the farm. This is expressed by the strength of the dominant paternal network which is the inbound network, so much so that it overshadows all the

remaining networks. There is however an interesting contrast, or difference, in the rural data, and that is in the maternal pattern. Upon examining the interview data, I found that the predominant network is inbound; however, in the survey, the pattern reverses itself and the network is now outbound. This may represent the mother-daughter information network and the fact that, in the case of this network pattern, the movement is inbound in orientation. The families' networks are outbound in nature, providing an interesting contrast. The remainder of the maternal pattern in the rural environment follows the survey pattern of an outbound visitation network.

This extensive inbound paternal network should be expected in light of Baric's work in Yugoslavia (1967). His work showed that, in Yugoslavia, co-operation continues even when families are removed from the farm for two or three generations. This cooperative behavior, which includes labor, equipment and knowledge, should be expressed by the strength of the dominant network; further, this dominant network should be male in orientation. This seems to be the case. My study group consisted of families that were removed from the rural environment for up to two generations.

The question of what occurs in subsequent generations is one I can not answer at this time. However, like Baric', I believe that a result would be the breakup of this paternal network and the expression of a dominant maternal network centered on the mother-daughter relationship.

There is, of course, another question that should be asked at this juncture and that is: what occurs when the farm is removed from the equation? Do the people in the network focus on the paternal head for a period of time, or does the entire structure of the rural network fail all at once? This question may be answered in part as some other related research studies are examined.

The next question is: is there also a corresponding difference in rural and urban ideological expressions? It has been demonstrated that different environments or economies have resulted in different sociological structures; therefore, it is expected that there would be different ideological expressions in the rural and urban networks. This part of my proposition was only superficially examined in the survey population; however, it led to a fuller examination in



the interview data set.

The initial surveys indicated that, in the urban segment of the sample, visitations occurred throughout the year with an emphasis on ceremonial occasions (i.e. birthdays and holidays). Visits in the rural segment of the study population clustered in the summer and fall, which would be expected if the network is economic in nature, for they would return to the farm during periods when the farmers most needed help. This was the case. When asked why they returned to the farm, they predominantly responded that they did so to "help" with either the planting or the harvest. The key word here is "help" and not "work", for help implies the concept of jural amity, and the use of the word work implies balanced reciprocity. There is, thus, a difference in the ideological view of the world.

The purposes of the visitations were separated into three categories, ceremonial, work, and help. There were also categories for inbound and outbound visits and for sex (see Table 18, pp. 129-130). If one examines the inbound information for the rural population one sees that, in the case of the sons, 95 percent of the visitations to the farm were to "help" and only 5 percent to "work". In the case of the daughters, 89.474

percent responded "help" and the remainder stated they had made ceremonial visitations.

In, comparison the urban inbound pattern for sons was significantly different, 73.684 percent responded that the visitation was to "work" and 26.316 percent for ceremonial reasons. The urban daughters' responses were more evenly distributed, 45 percent indicated that they had made visitations to help, 30 percent for ceremonial reasons, and only 25 percent to work, quite a difference from both the rural responses and their urban counterparts. Again, this may be an example of the mother-daughter network in the urban environment, this time reflecting an ideological difference. In either case, a significantly larger percentage of the rural population, both female and male, responded that they had made their visitations to "help" and not to "work", or for ceremonial reasons.

Now I will address the question of outbound visitations made by the parents to their children's homes and the purposes behind such visitations. The rural population of my study group indicated that 100 percent of the visitations to their sons were for ceremonial reasons whereas, in the case of the

daughters, 94.445 percent of the visitations were also for ceremonial reasons and the remaining 5 percent were to "help".

In the population of urban sons, we see no difference whatsoever; 100 percent of the visitations were made for ceremonial reasons. There are also few differences between the daughters' outbound rural and urban responses, with 85 percent of the urban visitations being made for ceremonial reasons and the remaining 15 percent made to "help". Something of interest that should be pointed out at this point is that, for both the rural and urban daughters' responses, none indicated that the visitations had been made to "work". This is quite in contrast to the male responses. This is most likely a different ideological view of the world. However, it is not just a difference between urban and rural, it is also gender related. Among males, it appears that both urban and rural populations outbound visitations were primarily ceremonial in nature. In the case of these interviews, this means that the parents are only going out to visit their sons at ceremonial times. In the case of the rural sons, when they came inbound it was to help with the farm, whereas, in the case of the urban sample, the response was mixed.

There seems to be a definite difference between the urban and rural samples. The term "work" only appears in one rural sample, "sons inbound", and in that case in only a total of 5 percent of the data. On the other hand, the term "work" is fairly common in the urban sons' inbound dialogue and it also shows up in the urban daughters' inbound visitations. It is interesting that the term "work" is only found in the inbound category and not in the outbound.

The remainder of the tabulations of categories of questions was examined to see if any other patterns could be affecting the results. In the interview sample, there is no real difference in the age of the rural and urban populations (Tables 19 and 20 pp. 131-132). In both groups, the majority of the participants is over the age of 30. The survey sample is somewhat different. The rural participants tend to be somewhat older with the majority of that study population falling into the 20- to 30-year range. In contrast, the majority of the urban group falls into the under-20 range.

In the case of the sex of the survey research sample (tables 19 and 20, pp 131-132), there is no

significant difference between the rural and urban samples. In both cases, there are more females than males. The urban segment of the study group has a higher percentage of females than males, 56.452 and 43.548, than its rural counterpart, 51.282 and 48.718.

In the case of the interview sample, the urban group has a higher percentage of females than males (60 percent to 40 percent); however, the rural sample has a higher number of males than females (70 percent and 30 percent). What influence this may have on the interpretation of the visitation patterns, I am not certain. As there seems to be no significant difference between the visitation patterns in the urban or the rural samples in the survey or interview data sets, I would doubt that there is any real influence acting on the questions at hand.

When the duration of the parent's marriage was examined, I find that, in the survey data, the rural population seems to have a higher percentage of longer marriages than its urban counterparts (Tables 21 and 22, pp. 133-134). The majority of the rural marriages, 61.53 percent, fall into the range of 21 to 30 years duration. The only large difference between the urban and rural samples is that only 5.128 percent of the rural sample

falls into the 10- to 20-year range, whereas in the urban group, 23.387 percent were in that category. The interview sample expands this pattern. In the rural sample, there are no marriages between 10 and 20 years duration, while 80 percent of the marriages had lasted 31 years or more. In contrast in the urban sample, only 55 percent of the marriages lasted to 31 years or more.

The final area of concern is that of the educational level of the parents of the participants (Tables 25 and 26, pp. 137-138). In the survey data, there is no real difference between the educational levels of the mothers; both urban and rural are essentially the same. There are differences in the father's educational levels. The urban segment of the study seems to have a higher number of bachelor's and post-baccalaureate degrees than either rural counterpart. The interview data presents a slightly different picture. The father's, or in this case husband's, pattern remains the same, but the wife's pattern changes. Instead of presenting the same pattern, the rural segment of the study has a much higher educational profile; 12.5 percent of the rural wives have a post-baccalaureate degree, and 22.5 percent a bachelor's degree. In contrast, the urban population has

no post-baccalaureate and only 15 percent bachelor's degrees. This is quite an interesting contrast, but one that may be due simply to the proximity of the university to the study area. Most farm wives are in charge of the farm's agribusiness segment of the operation. They may have been simply expanding their abilities or experience in this area by going on to degree programs at the University of Montana.

Table 1  
Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
1	X			CA 50+	CA 0	CA 0	CA 5-10	CA 1-5	CA 1-5
2	X			NY 1-5	NY 0	NY 0	NY 1-5	NY 0	NY 0
3	X			KY 1-5	KY 0	KY 0	PENN 1-5	PENN 0	PENN 0
4	X			TX L-W	TX 40-50	TX 0	LA 1-5	LA 0	LA 0
5	X			NEB 1-5	NEB 0	NEB 0	NEB 1-5	NEB 0	NEB 0
6	X			MT 5-10	MT 0	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
7	X			MT 5-10	MT 0	MT 0	MT 5-10	MT 0	MT 0
8	X			MT 0	MT 0	MT 0	ID 1-5	ID 0	ID 0
9	X			MT 10-20	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 5-10	MT 5-10
10	X			IND 0	IND 0	IND 0	IND 1-5	IND 1-5	IND 1-5
11	X			NY 1-5	NY 1-5	NY 1-5	KAN 0	KAN 0	KAN 0
12	X			EUR 1-5	EUR 1-5	EUR 1-5	MT 5-10	MT 5-10	MT 5-10



Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
13	X			OR 1-5	OR 0	OR 0	OR 1-5	OR 0	OR 0
14		X		MT 40-50	MT 0	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 0
15	X			ND 1-5	ND 0	ND 0	ND 0	ND 0	ND 0
16	X			MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0	MI 10-20	MI 5-10	MI 5-10
17	X			MN 10-15	MN 10-15	MN 10-15	MN 1-5	MN 0	MN 0
18		X		MN 1-5	MN 1-5	MN 1-5	MT 20-25	MT 0	MT 15-20
19		X		MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
20		X		MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
21	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT NA	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 0
22	X			MT 40-50	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	AZ 1	AZ 1	AZ 1
23	X			KY 0	KY 0	KY 0	KY 0	KY 0	KY 0
24	X			MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 20-30	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
25	X			ND 1-5	ND 1-5	ND 1-5	WA 1	WA 1	WA 1

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
26		X		Italy 5-10	Italy NA	Italy 5-10	MT 10-15	MT 1	MT 1
27	X			GA 1-5	GA 1-5	GA 1-5	NC 1	NC 0	NC 1
28		X		Mex 1-5	Mex 1-5	Mex 1-5	MT 0	MT 10-15	MT 1-5
29		X		WI 1-5	WI 0	WI 0	WA 20-30	WA 1-5	WA 1-5
30		X		NS 0	NS 0	NS 0	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
31		X		IL 1	IL 1	IL 1	IL 1	IL 1	IL 1
32	X			MA 0	MA 0	MA 0	MA 0	MA 0	MA 0
33	X			IL 1	IL 1-5	IL 1-5	GA 0	GA 1	GA 1
34		X		MA 0	MA 0	MA 0	VR 0	VR 0	VR 0
35	X			UT 1-5	UT 1-5	UT 1-5	UT 1	UT 1-5	UT 1
36	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0
37	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
38		X		MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MN 0	MN 0	MN 0
39	X			CON 1-5	CON 1	CON 1	OH 1	OH 0	OH 0
40	X			VR 0	VR 0	VR 0	VR 0	VR 0	VR 0
41	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
42	X			MT 20-30	MT 10-20	MT 1	IA 1	IA 0	IA 0
43	X			MT 1-5	MT NA	MT NA	MT 10	MT 1	MT 1
44		X		MT 10-20	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 10-20	MT NA	MT 1
45	X			NC 1-5	NC 0	NC 0	MT 1	MT 0	MT 0
46	X			NY 1-5	NY 0	NY 0	NY 1-5	NY 1	NY 1
47		X		IL 60	IL 1-5	IL 1-5	IL 10-20	IL 1-5	IL 1-5
48		X		MT 1-5	MT 1	MT NA	MT 1-5	MT NA	MT NA
49	X			ID 60	ID 1-5	ID NA	MT 1-5	MT NA	MT 1

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
50	X			MT 60	MT 20	MT 20	MT 10	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
51	X			WA 1-5	WA 1-5	AZ 1-5	WA 1	WA 0	WA 0
52	X			KA 1-5	KA 1	KA 1	KA 1	KA 0	KA 0
53		X		MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
54	X			MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 10-15	MT 1	MT 1-5
55	X			MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1-5	VA 1	VA 0	VA NA
56		X		MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0
57	X			MT 60	MT 1-5	MT 60	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1
58		X		MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 60	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT 0
59		X		MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 10-15	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
60		X		WY 1-5	WY 0	WY 0	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
61		X		MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT NA	MT NA
62	X			AZ 1-5	AZ NA	AZ 1	NC 1	NC 0	NC NA
63	X			MN 1-5	MN 1	MN 1	MN 1	MN 1-5	MN 1
64		X		MT 10-15	ID 1-5	ID 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1
65	X			MN 10-15	MN 0	MN 0	IA 1-5	IA 1	IA 0
66	X			MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0
67	X			CO 1	CO 0	CO 0	NV 0	NV 0	NV 0
68	X			ID 10-15	ID 1-5	ID 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0
69	X			MO 1-5	MO 1-5	MO 1-5	IL 1	IL 1	IL 1
70	X			IA 1-5	IA 1	IL 1	IA 5-10	IA 1	IA 1
71	X			WV 1-5	WV 1	WV 1	WV 1	WV 1	WV 1
72	X			NM 60	NM 1-5	NM 60	NM 1	NM 1	NM 0
73		X		MT 60	MT 1	MT 1	MA 0	IO 0	M 0

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
74		X		MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT NA	MT NA
75	X			NJ 1	NJ 1	NJ 1	MA 1	MA 1	NY 1
76	X			MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0	MT 1
77		X		WA 1-5	WA 1-5	WA 1	WA 10-15	WA 1-5	WA 1-5
78	X			MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MN 1	MN 0	MI 1
79		X		ND 60	ND 10-15	ND 10-15	AK 1	AK 0	AK 0
80	X			BC 1	BC 1-5	BC 1-5	BC 1-5	BC 1-5	BC 0
81		X		MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
82	X			MT 60	MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
83	X			TX 1-5	TX 1-5	TX 1-5	OK 1-5	OK 0	OK 0
84	X			UT 1	UT 1	UT 1	UT 1	UT 1	UT 1
85	X			CA 1	CA 0	CA 0	CA 1	CA 0	CA 0

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
86		X		MT 60	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	NC 1	NC 0	NC 0
87	X			GERM 1	GREM 1	GERM 1	PN 1	PN 1	PN 1
88		X		ND 60	ND 10	ND 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 10	MT 0
89	X			MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 0
90	X			IL 1-5	IL 1	IL 0	IL 1-5	IL 1	IL 1
91	X			ME 60	ME 10-15	NS 10-15	FL 60	FL 1-5	FL 1-5
92		X		MT 0	MT 0	MT NA	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1
93	X			IA 1-5	IA NA	IA 1	IA 1-5	IA 1	IA NA
94	X			MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
95	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 4	MT 1	MT 1-5
96	X			MT 1	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
97		X		NY 0	NY 0	NY 0	NY 1	NY 0	NY 1
98		X		MN 0	MN 2	MN 2	MN 0	MN 2	MN 2
99	X			ND 1	ID 1	ND 1	MN 1	SD 1-5	MN 1
100	X			NY 1	NY 1	NY 1	SD 1	SD 1	SD 1
101		X		MT 1	MT 1	MT 0	MT 10-15	MT 0	MT 1
102	X			MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1	MT 5-10	MT 1-5	MT 1
103			X	OR 1-5	OR 1-5	OR 1-5	NEB 20-30	NEB 1-5	NEB 1-5
104			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 5-10	MT 5-10
105			X	MT 40-50	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 40-50	MT 20-30	MT 20-30
106			X	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 5-10	MT 5-10
107			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	ND 40-50	ND 20-30	ND 20-30



Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
108			X	MT 5-10	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 20-30	MT 10-20	MT 10-20
109			X	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0	ID 40-50	ID 30-40	ID 30-40
110			X	SD 1-5	SD 1-5	SD 1-5	WY 100+	WY 30-40	WY 30-40
111			X	MT 5-10	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 10-20	MT 10-20
112			X	MT 1	MT NA	MT NA	MT 100+	MT 10-15	MT 10-15
113			X	MT 10-15	MT 1	MT 1	MT 100+	MT NA	MT NA
114			X	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 100+	MT NA	MT NA
115			X	CA 1-5	CA 1-5	CA 1-5	CA 10-20	CA 0	CA 0
116			X	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0	MT 60	MT 0	MT 1
117			X	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5
118			X	MN 1	MN 1	MN 1	MN 60	MN NA	MN NA

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
119			X	AK 1-5	AK 1-5	AK 1-5	AK 60	WA 60	AK 60
120			X	TX 1-5	CA 0	WA 1	TX 1-5	OR 0	TX 0
121			X	MN 1-5	MN 1-5	MN 1-5	MN 100+	MN 40	MN 10-15
122			X	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 60	MT 60	MT 1-5
123			X	MT 1-5	ID 1	SD 1	MT 20-30	MT 20-30	WA 1-5
124			X	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1	MT 60	MT 60	MT 1-5
125			X	MN 1-5	MN 1-5	MN 1	ND 100+	ND 100+	SD 5-10
126			X	MT 1-5	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 20-30	MT 1-5
127			X	MT 1-5	MN 1	MT 1	MT 100+	MT 20-30	CA 0
128			X	MT 1	MT NA	MT NA	MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 1-5
129			X	ID 1-5	ID 1-5	CA 1	WA 100+	WA 20-30	OR 10-15

Table 1 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
130			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10-15	MT 60	MT 10-15	MT 1-5
131			X	MN 1-5	MN 1	MN 0	MN 100+	MN 10-20	ND 10-15
132			X	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 20-30	MT 10-15
133			X	ID 1-5	ID 1	ID 0	MT 100+	MT 100+	MT 20-30

## Key

P# = Participant number  
WC = White collar  
BC = Blue collar  
F/R = Farm / ranch

MP = Mother's parents  
MB = Mother's brothers  
MS = Mother's sisters  
FP = Father's parents  
FB = Father's brothers  
FS = Father's sisters

5-10 = Average of visitations per year  
CA = The state where the visitations were made

Table 2  
Tabulation of inbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
1		X		MINN 0	MINN 0	MINN 0	MINN 0	MINN 0	MINN 0
2	X			MT 1	MT 1	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 1-5
3	X			MINN 1-5	MI 1-5	MI 1-5	MT 1	MI 0	MI 0
4	X			MT 40-50	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10-15	MT 1	MT 1
5	X			ONT 1-5	ONT 1-5	ONT 1-5	ONT 0	ONT 0	ONT 0
6	X			MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
7	X			MI 0	MI NA	MI 5	MI 40-50	MI 40-50	MI 0
8		X		MT 40-50	MT 1	MT 1	MT 10	MT 10	MT 10
9	X			MINN 1-5	MINN 1-5	MINN 1-5	MINN 1	MINN 0	MINN 0
10	X			MT 0	MT 1	MT 0	MT 1	MT 0	MT 0
11	X			MT 0	MT 10-20	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0
12		X		FL 14	FL 6	FL 6	CONN 7	CONN 1	CONN 0

Table 2 (cont.)

Tabulation of inbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
13		X		UT 10-20	UT 10-15	UT 10-20	ID 10-15	ID 5-10	ID 5-10
14	X			IND 1	IND 1	IND 1	IND 1	IND 1	IND 1
15		X		MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
16		X		ID 1-5	ID 25	ID NA	WA 1-5	WA NA	WA NA
17		X		MT 25	MT 25	MT 25	ID 1	ID 1	ID 1
18		X		MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1
19	X			MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 25	MT 25	MT 25
20	X			MT 40-50	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	OH 1-5	OH 1-5	OH 1-5
21		X		VT 0	VT 0	VT 25	VT 0	VT 0	VT 0
22		X		MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0
23			X	IO 0	IO 0	IO 0	NB 0	NB 0	NB 0
24			X	MT 10	MT 0	MT 10	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0

Table 2 (cont.)

Tabulation of inbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

P#	WC	BC	F/R	MP	MB	MS	FP	FB	FS
25			X	MT 2	MT 2	MT 2	MN 0	MN 0	MN 0
26			X	MT 0	MT 1-2	MT 1-2	MT 3-4	MT 5-6	MT 4-5
27			X	MT 1	MT 1	MT 1	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0
28			X	MT 0	MT 1	MT 1	MN 1-5	MN 1	MN 1
29			X	MT 10	MT 5-10	MT 5-10	MT 0	MT 0	MT 0
30			X	MT 20-30	MT 10-15	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 0

## Key

P# = Participant number  
WC = White collar  
BC = Blue collar  
F/R = Farm / ranch

MP = Mother's parents  
MB = Mother's brothers  
MS = Mother's sisters  
FP = Father's parents  
FB = Father's brothers  
FS = Father's sisters

5-10 = Average of visitations per year  
CA = The state where the visitations were made

Table 3

Tabulation of outbound of totals and percentages,  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

Number of visitations	MP		MB		MS	
	total	%	total	%	total	%
Urban						
0	12	11.765	30	29.412	30	29.412
1-5	61	59.804	58	58.863	53	51.196
5-10	2	1.961	1	0.980	1	0.980
10-20	10	9.804	8	7.843	9	8.824
20-30	1	0.980	1	0.980	1	0.980
30-40	1	0.980	0	0	0	0
40-50	2	1.961	1	0.980	0	0
50+	12	11.765	0	0	3	2.941
LW	1	0.980	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	3	2.941	5	4.902
Rural						
0	0	0	3	9.677	7	22.581
1-5	25	80.645	26	83.871	21	70.968
5-10	2	6.452	0	0	0	0
10-20	3	9.677	0	0	1	3.226
20-30	0	0	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	1	3.226	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	2	6.452	2	6.452

Table 3 (cont.)  
 Tabulation of outbound totals and percentages,  
 Kinship visitation patterns,  
 ascertained by survey

Number of visitations	FP		FB		FS	
	total	%	total	%	total	%
Urban						
0	17	16.666	37	36.275	39	38.235
1-5	63	61.765	56	54.902	54	52.941
5-10	8	7.843	4	3.922	3	2.941
10-20	11	10.784	0	0	1	0.980
20-30	2	1.961	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-60	1	0.980	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	4	3.922	5	4.902
Rural						
0	0	0	4	12.903	3	9.677
1-5	2	6.452	2	6.452	9	29.032
5-10	0	0	2	6.452	3	9.677
10-20	3	9.677	6	19.355	7	22.581
20-30	7	22.581	7	22.581	3	9.677
30-40	0	0	2	6.452	2	6.452
40-50	3	9.677	1	3.226	0	0
50-60	6	19.355	2	6.452	1	3.226
100+	10	32.258	2	6.452	0	0
NA	0	0	3	9.677	3	9.677



Table 4

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
1	X				X
2	X				X
3	X			X	
4		X		X	
5	X				X
6		X		X	
7		X			X
8	X				X
9		X		X	
10	X			X	
11		X		X	
12		X			X
13	X				X
14		X			X
15	X				X
16	X			X	
17	X				X
18	X				X

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
19		X			X
20		X			X
21	X				X
22		X			X
23	X				X
24		X			X
25		X		X	
26	X			X	
27		X			X
28		X			X
29	X				X
30			X	X	
31		X			X
32		X		X	
33	X				X
34			X	X	
35		X		X	
36			X		X

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
37	X			X	
38	X			X	
39	X				X
40			X	X	
41		X		X	
42	X				X
43		X		X	
44		X			X
45			X		X
46		X		X	
47	X				X
48		X		X	
49		X		X	
50		X			X
51	X			X	
52	X				X
53		X			X
54	X			X	

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
55	X				X
56	X				X
57	X				X
58			X		X
59		X		X	
60			X	X	
61	X				X
62	X				X
63	X			X	
64			X		X
65			X		X
66			X		X
67	X				X
68	X				X
69	X			X	
70		X			X
71		X			X
72		X			X

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
73	X			X	
74			X		X
75		X			X
76	X			X	
77		X		X	
78	X				X
79		X			X
80	X			X	
81		X			X
82	X			X	
83	X				X
84			X		X
85			X	X	
86		X		X	
87	X			X	
88	X				X
89		X		X	
90		X		X	

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
91			X		X
92		X			X
93		X		X	
94	X			X	
95	X			X	
96	X			X	
97			X	X	
98	X			X	
99		X			X
100		X			X
101	X				X
102		X			X
103			X		X
104		X			X
105		X		X	
106		X			X

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
107	X			X	
108		X			X
109			X		X
110	X			X	
111		X			X
112		X		X	
113		X			X
114	X				X
115		X		X	
116		X			X
117		X			X
118		X			X
119	X				X
120			X		X
121	X			X	
122		X		X	
123		X			X
124		X		X	
125			X		X

Table 4 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
age and sex of participants,  
ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
126			X		X
127	X				X
128			X	X	
129		X			X
130		X		X	
131		X		X	
132		X			X
133		X			X



Table 5

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
1	X			
2		X		
3			X	
4		X		
5		X		
6			X	
7		X		
8		X		
9		X		
10		X		
11			X	
12		X		
13		X		
14	X			
15		X		
16		X		
17			X	
18		X		

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	20-30	31+	Years
19			X	
20			X	
21	X			
22	X			
23		X		
24	X			
25		X		
26		X		
27		X		
28			X	
29		X		
30			X	
31			X	
32	X			
33		X		
34			X	
35			X	

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
36		X		
37		- X		
38	X			
39	X			
40	X			
41			X	
42			X	
43			X	
44	X			
45			X	
46		X		
47			X	
48	X			
49			X	
50	X			
51		X		
52			X	

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
53		X		
54	X			
55			X	
56			X	
57			X	
58			X	
59		X		
60		X		
61		X		
62	X			
63		X		
64		X		
65			X	
66			X	
67			X	
68		X		
69	X			

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
70			X	
71		X		
72			X	
73		X		
74			X	
75		X		
76			X	
77		X		
78		X		
79		X		
80		X		
81		X		
82	X			
83	X			
84			X	
85			X	
86		X		

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
87		X		
88	X			
89			X	
90	X			
91			X	
92	X			
93			X	
94		X		
95	X			
96	X			
97			X	
98			X	
99		X		
100		X		
101	X			
102	X			
103			X	
104			X	
105		X		

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
106	X			
107		X		
108		X		
109		X		
110		X		
111			X	
112			X	
113	X			
114		X		
115		X		
116		X		
117		X		
118		X		
119		X		
120			X	
121		X		
122		X		

Table 5 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
Duration of parents marriage, ascertained by survey

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
123			X	
124		X		
125		X		
126		X		
127		X		
128		X		
129			X	
130		X		
131		X		
132		X		
133		X		

Key

P# = Participant number



Table 6

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level,  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
1	X			X			X		
2	X					X			X
3	X			X			X		
4		X		X	X				
5		X		X	X				
6		X						X	X
7		X		X			X		
8	X				X			X	
9		X		X	X				
10		X		X	X				
11		X		X	X				
12		X		X			X		
13		X		X			X		
14	X			X	X				
15		X				X	X		
16	X			X					X
17		X				X	X		

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
18		X		X	X				
19	X			X	X				
20	X			X	X				
21		X				X			X
22		X				X			X
23	X							X	X
24		X				X	X		
25		X		X	X				
26	X			X					X
27		X		X					X
28	X			X	X				
29	X			X	X				
30	X			X	X				
31		X		X	X				
32		X		X			X		
33		X				X			X
34	X			X	X				

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
35			X	X	X				
36	X			X	X				
37		X		X					X
38		X		X	X				
39		X						X	X
40		X						X	X
41	X					X	X		
42	X			X			X		
43	X				X	X			
44	X				X			X	
45		X			X	X			
46			X	X			X		
47	X			X	X				
48	X			X	X				
49		X					X	X	
50			X	X	X				
51		X		X	X				

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
52		X		X			X		
53		X		X	X				
54			X	X	X				
55	X			X			X		
56		X			X	X			
57		X		X			X		
58		X		X	X				
59	X			X	X				
60	X				X	X			
61	X				X			X	
62		X				X			X
63		X		X			X		
64		X		X	X				
65		X		X			X		
66		X		X			X		
67	X			X			X		
68		X		X			X		

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
69		X				X	X		
70		X						X	X
71		X		X	X				
72	X					X	X		
73	X			X			X		
74		X		X	X				
75		X				X			X
76		X						X	X
77	X			X	X				
78		X				X	X		
79	X			X	X				
80		X		X	X				
81		X		X	X				
82			X			X			X
83		X		X			X		
84			X	X	X				
85			X		X			X	

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
86	X			X	X				
87		X		X	X				
88		X		X	X				
89		X		X	X				
90		X						X	X
91		X		X	X				
92	X			X	X				
93		X				X	X		
94		X		X	X				
95		X				X			X
96		X				X	X		
97	X			X	X				
98		X		X	X				
99	X					X			X
100		X				X	X		
101		X		X	X				
102		X				X	X		
103		X		X	X				
104		X		X	X				
105		X		X	X				

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
106	X			X	X				
107	X			X	X				
108		X		X			X		
109	X			X					X
110		X		X	X				
111			X	X	X				
112	X			X	X				
113		X		X	X				
114	X					X	X		
115		X		X			X		
116		X		X	X				
117	X					X	X		
118		X		X	X				
119	X			X	X				
120		X				X	X		

Table 6 (cont.)

Tabulation of outbound  
religious preference and educational level  
ascertained by survey

P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
121		X			X	X			
122	X				X	X			
123		X		X	X				
124	X				X	X			
125	X				X			X	
126		X		X	X				
127	X				X	X			
128		X				X	X		
129		X			X	X			
130	X			X	X				
131		X					X	X	
132	X			X	X				
133	X						X	X	

## Key

#= Participant number

C= Catholic / MHS= Mother has high school degree only

P= Protestant / FHS= Father has high school degree only

O= Other / MBA= Mother has a university degree

FBA= Father has a university degree

MP-BA= Mother has a univ. graduate degree

FP-BA= Father has a univ. graduate degree



Table 7

Tabulation of totals and percentages, inbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

Number of Visitations	MP		MB		MS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Urban						
0	5	22.727	3	13.636	4	18.182
1-5	11	50	13	59.091	13	59.091
5-10	0	0	1	4.545	1	4.545
10-20	2	9.091	2	9.091	1	4.545
20-30	1	4.545	2	9.091	2	9.091
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	3	13.636	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0
LW	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	1	4.545	1	4.545
Rural						
0	3	37.5	2	25	1	12.5
1-5	2	25	4	50	4	50
5-10	2	25	1	12.5	1	12.5
10-20	0	0	1	12.5	2	25
20-30	1	12.5	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 7 (cont.)

Tabulation of totals and percentages, inbound  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by survey

Number of visitations	FP		FB		FS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Urban						
0	4	22.727	9	40.909	10	45.455
1-5	12	54.545	8	36.364	8	36.364
5-10	2	9.091	2	9.091	1	4.545
10-20	2	9.091	0	0	0	0
20-30	1	4.545	1	4.545	1	4.545
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	1	4.545	1	4.545	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	1	4.545	1	4.545
Rural						
0	5	62.5	6	75	6	75
1-5	3	37.5	1	12.5	1	12.5
5-10	0	0	1	12.5	1	12.5
10-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-30	0	0	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8

Tabulation of inbound  
age and sex, ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
1		X		X	
2		X		X	
3	X				X
4	X				X
5		X			X
6		X			X
7			X	X	
8	X				X
9	X				X
10	X				X
11	X			X	
12	X				X
13	X				X
14		X		X	
15		X		X	
16	X				X
17		X		X	
18		X		X	

Table 8 (cont.)

Tabulation of inbound  
age and sex, ascertained by survey

P#	Age			Sex	
	-20	20-30	30+	M	F
19	X			X	
20		X		X	
21	X				X
22		X		X	
23		X		X	
24	X			X	
25			X	X	
26			X	X	
27		X		X	
28	X			X	
29			X	X	
30		X		X	

Table 9

Tabulation of inbound  
religious preference and educational level,  
ascertained by survey

		Religious Preference				Educational Level			
P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
1		X		X	X				
2		X				X	X		
3	X					X	X		
4		X			X	X			
5		X				X	X		
6	X					X	X		
7		X		X	X				
8		X		X	X				
9		X		X			X		
10	X					X	X		
11	X			X	X				
12	X			X	X				
13			X			X			X
14			X			X	X		
15		X		X	X				
16			X	X	X				
17		X		X	X				

Table 9 (cont.)

Tabulation of inbound  
religious preference and educational level,  
ascertained by survey

		Religious Preference				Educational Level			
P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
18	X					X	X		
19		X		X			X		
20		X		X	X				
21		X				X	X		
22		X		X	X				
23	X			X	X				
24	X			X	X				
25		X						X	X
26		X		X	X				
27		X		X	X				
28	X				X	X			
29		X		X	X				
30		X			X	X			

**Key**

P# = Participant number

C = Catholic

P = Protestant

O = Other

MHS = Mother has a high school degree only

FHS = Father has a high school degree only

MBA = Mother has a university degree

FBA = Father has a university degree

MP-BA = Mother has a univ. graduate degree

FP-BA = Father has a univ. graduate degree

Table 10

Tabulation of  
Kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

P#	WC	BC	F/R	Visits to D	S	Visits from D	S
1	X			MT 5-10	MT 5-10	MT 10-20	MT 10-20
2		X		ID 5-10	MT 1-5	ID 10-20	MT 1-5
3		X		MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 5-10
4	X			CO 1-5	ID 1-5	CO 10-20	ID 1-5
5	X			MT 2	MT 1	MT 10-15	MT 1-5
6	X			MT 1-5	MT 10-15	MT 20-30	MT 1-5
7	X			ID 1-5	MT 1-5	ID 5-10	MT 1-5
8		X		MT 5-10	MT 5-10	MT 10-15	MT 5-10
9		X		ND 1-5	MT 5-10	ND 1-5	MT 10-15
10	X			CA 1	OR 1	CA 5-10	OR 1-5
11		X		MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 1-5

Table 10 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

P#	WC	BC	F/R	Visits to		Visits from	
				D	S	D	S
12		X		MT 5-10	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 5-10
13	X			MT 1-5	CA 1	MT 30-40	CA 1-5
14	X			MT 10-20	MT 5-10	MT 100+	MT 10-20
15		X		MT 1-5	ID 1	MT 30-40	ID 1-5
16		X		MT 10-15	MT 0	MT 20-30	MT 0
17	X			ID 5-10	ID 5-10	ID 10-15	ID 5-10
18	X			MT 10-15	MT 5-10	MT 100+	MT 30-50
19		X		CA 1	WA 1	CA 1-5	WA 1-5
20	X			MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 50-60	MT 10-20
21			X	MT 1-5	MT 0	MT 40-50	MT 100+
22			X	ID 0	MT 0	ID 20-30	MT 100+



Table 10 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

P#	WC	BC	F/R	Visits to		Visits from	
				D	S	D	S
23			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 40-50
24			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 40-50	MT 100+
25			X	ND 1	MT 0	ND 10-20	MT 50-60
26			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 100+
27			X	MT 1-5	CA 0	MT 20-30	CA 40-50
28			X	MT 5-10	MT 1-5	MT 10-20	MT 50-60
29			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 5-10	MT 20-30
30			X	MT 1	MT 1	MT 30-50	MT 100+
31			X	MT 1-5	ND 0	MT 20-30	ND 30-40
32			X	MT 1	MT 0	MT 30-40	MT 50-60
33			X	ID 1	ID 1	ID 20-30	ID 40-50

Table 10 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
Kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

P#	WC	BC	F/R	Visits to		Visits from	
				D	S	D	S
34			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 40-50	MT 100+
35			X	MT 0	MT 0	MT 10-20	MT 30-40
36			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 30-40	MT 100+
37			X	WY 1	MT 1-5	WY 10-15	MT 50-60
38			X	MT 10-15	MT 1-5	MT 40-50	MT 100+
39			X	MT 1-5	MT 1-5	MT 20-30	MT 40-50
40			X	ID 1	MT 1-5	ID 10-20	MT 100+

## Key

P# = Participant number  
WC = White collar  
BC = Blue collar  
F/R = farm / ranch

D = Daughter  
S = Son

5-10 = Average of visitations per year  
MT = The state where the children are living

Table 11

Tabulation of totals and percentages,  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

Number of urban visitations	Daughters		Sons	
	No.	%	No.	%
Outbound				
0	0	0	1	5
1-5	11	55	12	60
5-10	5	25	6	30
10-20	4	20	1	5
20-30	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0
100+	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	0	0
Inbound				
0	0	0	1	5
1-5	2	10	10	50
5-10	2	10	4	20
10-20	8	40	4	20
20-30	3	15	0	0
30-40	2	10	1	5
40-50	0	0	0	0
50-60	1	5	0	0
100+	2	10	0	0
NA	0	0	0	0

Table 11 (cont.)

Tabulation of totals and percentages  
kinship visitation patterns,  
ascertained by interview

Number of rural visitations	Daughters		Sons	
	No.	%	No.	%
Outbound				
0	2	10	7	35
1-5	16	80	13	65
5-10	1	5	0	0
10-20	1	5	0	0
20-30	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	0	0
50-60	0	0	0	0
100+	0	0	0	0
NA	0	0	0	0
Inbound				
0	0	0	0	0
1-5	0	0	0	0
5-10	1	5	0	0
10-20	6	30	0	0
20-30	6	30	1	5
30-40	3	15	2	10
40-50	4	20	4	20
50-60	0	0	4	20
100+	0	0	9	45
NA	0	0	0	0

Table 12

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

## Daughters

P#	C	Outbound		C	Inbound	
		W	H		W	H
Urban						
1	X				X	
2	X				X	
3	X					X
4	X				X	
5	X			X		
6	X					X
7	X			X		
8	X					X
9	X			X		
10	X			X		
11	X				X	
12	X					X
13	X					X
14			X			X
15	X					X

Table 12 (cont.)

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

## Daughters

P#	C	Outbound		C	Inbound	
		W	H		W	H
16			X			X
17	X				X	
18			X			X
19	X			X		
20	X			X		

## Rural

21	X					X
22	-					X
23	X					X
24	X					X
25	X					X
26	X					X
27	X					X
28	X					X
29	X			X		

Table 12 (cont.)

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

## Daughters

P#	C	Outbound		C	Inbound	
		W	H		W	H
30	X					X
31	X					X
32	X					X
33	X					X
34	X					X
35	-			X		
36	X					X
37	X					X
38			X			X
39	X					X
40	X			X		

Table 12 (cont.)

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

## Sons

P#	C	Outbound			C	Inbound	
		W	H	W		H	
Urban							
1	X					X	
2	X				X		
3	X				X		
4	X				X		
5	X				X		
6	X				X		
7	X				X		
8	X				X		
9	X					X	
10	X				X		
11	X				X		
12	X				X		
13	X				X		
14	X					X	
15	X				X		



Table 12 (cont.)

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

sons

P#	Outbound			Inbound		
	C	W	H	C	W	H
16	-			-		
17	X			X		
18	X				X	
19	X			X		
20	X				X	
Rural						
21	-					X
22	-					X
23	X					X
24	X					X
25	-					X
26	X					X
27	-					X
28	X					X
29	X				X	
30	X					X

Table 12 (cont.)

Tabulation of sons and daughters  
purpose of visitation,  
ascertained by interview

sons

P#	C	Outbound		H	C	Inbound	
		W				W	H
31	-						X
32	-						X
33	X						X
34	X						X
35	-						X
36	X						X
37	X						X
38	X						X
39	X						X
40	X						X

## Key

P# = Participant number

C = Ceremonial visitations

W = Worked

H = Helped

Table 13

Tabulation of  
duration of parents marriage,  
ascertained by interview

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
1			X	
2		X		
3		X		
4		X		
5			X	
6			X	
7		X		
8		X		
9	X			
10		X		
11			X	
12	X			
13			X	
14		X		
15		X		
16		X		

Table 13 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
duration of parents marriage,  
ascertained by interview

P#	10,20	21-30	31+	Years
17			X	
18		X		
19			X	
20			X	
21			X	
22			X	
23		X		
24			X	
25		X		
26			X	
27		X		
28			X	
29		X		
30			X	
31			X	
32			X	

Table 13 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
duration of parents marriage  
ascertained by interview

P#	10-20	21-30	31+	Years
33			X	
34			X	
35			X	
36			X	
37			X	
38		X		
39			X	
40			X	

Table 14

Tabulation of  
religious preference and educational levels  
of parents, ascertained by interview

		Religious Preference				Educational Level			
P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
1	X			X			X		
2		X		X	X				
3		X				X	X		
4	X			X	X				
5	X			X			X		
6	X					X	X		
7		X		X			X		
8	X					X			X
9	X			X			X		
10		X		X			X		
11	X					X	X		
12	X			X			X		
13		X				X	X		
14		X			X	X			
15		X		X			X		
16	X			X					X

Table 14 (cont.)

Tabulation of  
religious preference and educational levels  
of parents as ascertained by interview

		Religious Preference			Educational Level				
P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FBA	MP-BA	FP-BA
17		X		X			X		
18		X		X					X
19	X			X			X		
20	X			X			X		
21		X			X	X			
22	X				X	X			
23		X			X			X	
24			X	X	X				
25	X				X	X			
26		X			X	X			
27	X				X			X	
28	X				X	X			
29	X				X	X			
30		X			X			X	
31	X			X	X				
32	X			X	X				

Table 14 (cont.)

Religious preference and educational levels  
of parents as ascertained by interview

		Religious Preference			Educational Level				
P#	C	P	O	MHS	FHS	MBA	FHS	MP-BA	FP-BA
33		X			X	X			
34			X		X			X	
35	X				X	X			
36		X		X	X				
37	X			X	X				
38	X				X	X			
39		X		X	X				
40		X			X			X	

Key

P#= participant number

C= Catholic

P= Protestant

O= Other

MHS= Mother has a high school degree only

FHS= Father has a high school degree only

MBA= Mother has a university degree

FBA= Father has a university degree

MP-BA= Mother has a univ. graduate degree

FP-BA= Father has a univ. graduate degree



Table 15

Tabulation of averages, inbound  
kinship visitation patterns, ascertained by survey

	Urban		Rural
	Average		Average
MP	9.666 - 12.5		3.388 - 7.033
MB	2.101 - 4.081		0.897 - 3.069
MS	3.701 - 5.474		1.069 - 2.896
FP	2.225 - 5.471		53.290 - 57.581
FB	0.939 - 2.245		24.714 - 30.179
FS	0.876 - 1.948		9.786 - 14.857

## Key

MP = Mother's parents

MB = Mother's brothers

MS = Mother's sisters

FP = Father's parents

FB = Father's brothers

FS = Father's sisters

Table 16

Tabulation of averages, outbound  
kinship visitation patterns, ascertained by interview

	Urban		Rural
	Average		Average
MP	8.182 - 11.091		5.375 - 6.625
MB	4.409 - 6.095		2.5 - 3.875
MS	4.333 - 5.762		3.875 - 5.125
FP	5.136 - 6.818		0.625 - 1.75
FB	4.190 - 5.095		0.75 - 0.875
FS	2.286 - 2.905		0.625 - 0.75

## Key

MP = Mother's parents

MB = Mother's brothers

MS = Mother's sisters

FP = Father's parents

FB = Father's brothers

FS = Father's sisters

Table 17

Tabulation of averages, inbound  
kinship visitation patterns, ascertained by interview

	Urban	Rural
	Average	Average
Outbound		
D	3.85 - 7.95	2.05 - 4.80
S	2.60 - 5.75	0.70 - 3.10
Inbound		
D	23.10 - 25.75	24.25 - 37.60
S	5 - 10.75	67.50 - 73.50

## Key

D = Daughter

S = Son

Table 18

Tabulation of percentages,  
purpose of outbound and inbound visitations,  
sons and daughters, ascertained by interview

## Sons

## Outbound

C	Urban		H	C	Rural	
	W				W	H
17	0		3	17	0	1
85%	0%		15%	94.445%	0%	5%

## Inbound

C	Urban		H	C	Rural	
	W				W	H
6	5		45	2	0	17
30%	25%		45%	10.526%	0%	89.474%

Table 18 (cont.)

Tabulation of percentages,  
inbound and outbound purpose of visitations,  
sons and daughters, ascertained by interview

Daughters

Outbound

C	Urban W	H	C	Rural W	H
19	0	0	13	0	0
100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%

Inbound

C	Urban W	H	C	Rural W	H
14	5	0	0	1	19
73.684%	26.316%	0%	0%	5%	95%

Key

C = Ceremonial

W = Work

H = Help

Table 19

Tabulation of combined inbound percentages,  
age of the participants and outbound sex of  
the participants, ascertained by survey

## Age of the participants

Urban			Rural		
-20	20-30	30+	-20	20-30	30+
57	51	16	8	18	9
45.968%	41.129%	12.903%	20%	57.5%	22.5%

## Outbound

## Sex of the participants

Urban		Rural	
M	F	M	F
54	70	19	20
43.548%	56.452%	48.718%	51.282%

Key

M = Male

F = Female

Table 20

Tabulation of percentages,  
age and sex of the participants,  
ascertained by interview

## Age of the participants

Urban			Rural		
-20	20-30	30+	-20	20-30	30+
0	3	17	0	2	18
0%	15%	85%	0%	10%	90%

## Sex of the participants

Urban		Rural	
M	F	M	F
8	12	14	6
40%	60%	70%	30%

## Key

M = Male

F = Female

Table 21

Tabulation of combined inbound and outbound percentages, duration of parents marriage, as ascertained by survey

Rural			Urban	
Length of Marriage	Total	Percent of Sample	Total	Percent of Sample
10 - 20	2	5.128	29	23.387
21 - 30	24	61.538	55	44.355
31 +	13	33.333	40	32.258



Table 22

Tabulation of percentages, duration of marriage,  
ascertained by interview

Length of Marriage	Rural		Urban	
	Total	Percent of Sample	Total	Percent of Sample
10 - 20	0	0	2	10
20 - 30	4	20	7	35
31+	16	80	11	55

Table 23

Tabulation of combined inbound and outbound percentages,  
religious preference, as ascertained by survey

	Urban			Rural		
	C	P	O	C	P	O
Total	40	73	10	17	21	1
% Of	32.520	59.350	8.130	43.590	53.846	2.564

Key

C = Catholic

P = Protestant

O = Other

% = Percent

Table 24

Tabulation of percentages, religious preference,  
ascertained by interview

	Urban				Rural		
	C	P	O		C	P	O
Total	11	9	0		10	8	2
% Of	55	45	0		50	40	2

Key

C = Catholic

P = Protestant

O = Other

% = percent

Table 25

Tabulation of combined inbound and outbound  
totals and percentages of educational level,  
ascertained by survey

		Rural		Urban	
	Total	Percent Of Sample	/	Total	Percent Of Sample
MHS	24	61.538		78	62.903
MBA	11	28.205		34	27.419
MP-BA	4	10.256		12	9.677
FHS	29	74.359		63	50.806
FBA	8	20.513		40	32.258
FP-BA	2	5.128		21	16.935

## Key

MHS = Mother has a high school degree only  
MBA = Mother has a university degree  
MP-BA = Mother has a graduate degree from a university  
FHS = Father has a high school degree only  
FBA = Father has a university degree  
FP-BA = Father has a graduate degree from a university

Table 26

Tabulation of totals and percentages  
of educational level, ascertained by interview

Rural		Urban	
Total	Percent Of Sample	Total	Percent of sample
WHS	6      15	14	35
HHS	20     50	3	7.5
WBA	9      22.5	6	15
HBA	0      0	14	30
WP-BA	5      12.5	0	0
HP-BA	0      0	3	7.5

## Key

WHS = Wife has a high school degree only

HHS = Husband has a high school degree only

WBA = Wife has a university degree

HBA = Husband has a university degree

WP-BA = Wife has a graduate degree from a university

HP-BA = Husband has a graduate degree from a university

## CHAPTER SIX

### RELATED STUDIES

There does seem to be a relationship between the data that have been accumulated by others and my research propositions. What other studies have been conducted along similar lines and what conclusions did they reach?

Riess (1962) conducted research on extended family kinship networks in a middle-class urban community and, although it is not a comparative study of urban and rural environments, it does shed some light on my concerns with in this thesis. He looked at the frequency of interaction among 161 families, treating ethnic backgrounds and duration of marriage as the variables .

When the question of the effect of ethnic differences on the amount of interaction in extended families was examined, no real difference was found. It should be pointed out that Reiss was not talking about

immigrants, but historic ethnic differences (1962).

When the question of female and male interaction with relatives was examined, Reiss found a matrilineal tendency. Females are in contact with more of their relatives on a regular basis than are males. Also, husbands are in contact with their in-laws far more often than with their relatives, or than the wife sees her in-laws. Further, he found two important variables that do influence the extent of the visitations. These are the degree of kinship relationship and the actual geographic distance separating the relatives. Needless to say, the greater the geographic distance the fewer the contacts, and the closer the kinship relationship the higher the chances that there will be a regular interaction (1962).

As noted above, the attitude or ideology of interaction plays a significant role in dominant kinship networks. Reiss asked his participants if they felt an obligation to remain in contact with their relatives. Again the females indicated that there was indeed a need to remain in contact. Ninety percent of females gave an unqualified "yes", while a significant percentage of males did not. In Reiss' view, without female prodding, a large number of kinship ties would not have remained

in force. Also, he found the older they were and the longer they were married, the more contact women wanted with relatives; in the case of males, there is no increase in desire for contact over time (1962).

To the question of why contact was initiated, the most common reason was ceremonial, and when the question of long distance contact was considered, it appears that was really the only reason. Along similar lines, the question of proximity of relatives was considered. Reiss found that there was no real desire to have relatives living closer and that common residence was strongly disapproved by all questioned. The only variance in this pattern was among older women who wanted their relatives to live closer to them or next door; however, there was no desire for cohabitation with grown children (Reiss 1962).

A study that was very similar to mine was Key's (1961) study of the differences in amounts of interaction within extended families in a rural setting. Key proposed that the extended family was more important in the rural environment than in the urban. So, in a sense, he examined a similar question; however, he was not examining the difference between female and male



oriented patterns. Key rated the strength of the network, not by the differences in numbers of actual visitations, but rather by a scale of 1 to 3 that indicated the strength of the relationship. I question, however, that the scale he used had the range needed to indicate the actual strength of the relationships.

Key's results indicated that there was no real difference between urban and rural extended family networks. However, there is some difference between rural and urban populations in his scale. His mean scores for numbers of visitations in the rural segment of the study group is 9.56 as compared with the urban mean score of 8.51 in the nuclear family, in the rural sample, 6.22 for the extended family and 5.87 in the urban sample (1961:54).

It is not clear why we differ so much in our conclusions. One explanation may be the scale Key used, which seems inefficient to measure his data. An other is that there is a difference between the geographic areas; his study was conducted in the midwest, whereas mine was concentrated in the northwest. A third possibility is Key's failure to look at the sex differences in visitation networks. It may very well be that, when the male and female networks averages are combined, similar

numbers of visitations in the urban and rural environments will result. In either case, the question requires further investigation.

A third relevant study is that conducted by Bultena (1969), who was concerned with the interaction of the aged with their siblings and children in both urban and rural environments in Wisconsin. He tested the proposition that the aged in a rural environment maintain a more extensive kinship network and have more contact with their relatives than do to their counterparts in the urban environment. The results are indeed quite interesting and pertinent to the question I am addressing. He found that the urban children saw their parents more often than did their rural counterparts; 45 percent of the urban parents saw their children once a week, but only 29 percent of the rural parents did.

In terms of visitations during a period of a month, 83 percent of the urban parents see their children, while only 74 percent of the rural sample do. When the question of sibling interaction is addressed, Bultena found no real difference in the data from urban and rural environments. He attributed the

differences to out-migration from the rural communities. The parents in an urban environment were more likely to have a child living in the same community, whereas the rural parents do not have children living within the community. In the case of siblings, they are apt to be living in the community, since the out-migration started later in time (1969).

When discussing the aged, Bultena referred to retired individuals and, in the rural environment, these individuals no longer lived on the farm. This becomes very important when the data I have presented is considered. It seems that once the economic focal point (i.e., the farm) is removed, the impetus for visitations is removed. When this occurs, the extensive network in the farming family collapses.

Before examining the significance of, and the conclusions to be drawn from this thesis, I should point out that, in my study, the aged in the farming community were not on the farm, so I can not address the question of two- or three-generation farms on which the aged do not move from the farm, but rather move to another house on the farm, while the son occupies the primary residence.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS

In the Introduction, I submitted that there were differences between the gender orientations in rural and urban dominant kinship networks and, further, that these differences were generated by different economic bases. Differences in social orientation would produce differences in their respective population's ideological views of the world.

I expected that these differences would be expressed in the paternal kinship network in the rural environment and the maternal kinship network in the urban environment. I also expected that the rural paternal network would be the dominant network due to the requirements of life on the farm. These requirements include, but are not limited to, the need for labor and equipment during critical periods throughout the year. I also proposed that a different ideology, or view of the world, would be expressed in this rural environment,

that this difference would be found in their respective views of kinship duty or service, and that it would be expressed in what Pitt-Rivers called a principle of "kinship jural amity". In contrast, I proposed that the urban environment would produce a stronger maternal kinship network with corresponding differences in the women's views of kinship duties and obligations.

Based on the data presented here, it becomes apparent that the traditional view of the American family is incorrect. Even in the urban environment, extended kinship networks continue to operate. Thus, the proposition that no interaction occurs at the extended family level is not borne out by the data. Therefore, Moore's (1967) view of the isolated nuclear family with its multigenerational and laterally extended family relationships limited to a simple serial service, is not supported. Rather, there seem to be, as Sussman and Burchinal (1962) predicted in their report on the urban American family, extensive interacting, multigenerational, and bidirectional, extended family networks.

Baric' (1967) also found similar results in his examination of newly urbanized populations in Yugoslavia. He found that the primary reasons for the

existence of these networks were family obligations, and that the farm was the focal point of the rural family.

Another study which sheds some light on my conclusions is Bultena's (1969) examination of the aged and their siblings and children. Bultena began with propositions similar to mine, but his results were quite different. Sibling interaction remained the same from rural to urban environment; but, the aged rural population in the study only saw their children one-half the number of times that the urban sample did (1969). Bultena attributed the difference to rural out-migration, however it is my belief that the farm is the focal point of the rural paternal network. Remove the focal point and the network will change, and the urban pattern will prevail in its place. In contrast, if the paternal family head is removed but the farm remains in operation, the head of the network will be replaced and the network will continue.

The focal point of the urban family seems to be the maternal head of the family. Young and Willmont (1957) found this to be the case in East London where, when the mother was removed, the maternal network began to fall apart. As they noted, the mother-daughter

relationship was the key in the urban maternal network and there was an extensive exchange of services. Young and Willmont felt that it was the sharing of the same jobs, or occupations that enforced this tie. In their study, the lack of any real and extensive paternal kinship network was due to the small number of father-son occupational duplications.

Another study that resulted in similar conclusions was Di Leonardo's (1987) work in northern California. She found that, when the women in the urban environment were removed from the family, either due to divorce or death, the kinship network fell apart very quickly. Further, the women exerted the majority of their effort toward maintaining kinship relationships. This even included choosing which relationships to foster and which to discourage. For example, she provided information concerning an area which I did not investigate, that of small family businesses. Di Leonardo found that, in the case of small family businesses males exerted the majority of the efforts within the kinship networks. Although she did not conduct research on the networks in either urban or small business environments, or in the rural environments, Di Leonardo's conclusions are very interesting and supportive of my research propositions.

In my research, I have found a similar pattern; an exchange of information occurred in the mother-daughter relationship and this seemed to be operating in both the urban and rural environments. However, a real difference was found between the paternal networks in the urban and rural environments. Within the urban environment, my data suggest, as did those of Young and Willmont (1957), that there is not a strong paternal network. In the case of the rural kinship network, the dominant one is the paternal network, more specifically, the inbound paternal network. Perhaps this is an example of what Young and Willmont suggested, that sharing the same kind of job reinforces the kinship system; I would have to say yes. However, in the case of the rural network, it may or may not be the same occupation. Sons may or may not follow their fathers' footsteps into farming. In this study they did not for the most part, but they had all been involved with the farm, either as children helping with chores, and with harvesting and planting, or as adults. In a sense, they are tied to the farm as an avocation, and when this avocational tie is removed, the network fails. This also explains why the paternal rural network is so one-sided, that is, inbound.



To follow this line of thought, it may be expected that some similar ideologies exist in the urban maternal network and the rural paternal network, with both of them exhibiting kinship rural amity. However, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, the evidence shows only an extensive feeling of amity for the rural networks. This may simply be the result of different primary requirements of occupations. In order for the rural paternal network to function there is a need for more than just an exchange of advice, or low intensity services. Rather, there must be an extensive influx of service to the farm, and this influx must be at an intensive level at specific times. This may be what causes a feeling of kinship rural amity or, as Sahlins (1965) would put it, generalized reciprocity -- a feeling of almost a moral obligation to forego one's self-interest for the sake of another kinsman.

Pitt-Rivers stated that the concept of "Altruism is founded on the concept of the unreciprocated gift" (1973:93). In a true sense, this is not of the absence of exchanges of goods or services. Instead, it refers to a mental template that the participants of a "gift" exchange love. In their own words, they stress that they visit "to help", not

"to work", a concept found in my urban sample which does not imply the concept of a gift, but rather an obligation. Neither do I mean to imply that no obligations accompany the concept of altruism, for in the confines of any kinship system, jural considerations are distributed unevenly from generation to generation and will change with both time and space.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### FUTURE RESEARCH

I believe that, in this paper, I have raised several questions, more than I have answered. This is, of course, what any scientific research project should accomplish. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to contemplate the exploration of these new questions, I can pose them and provide a very rudimentary framework for further research on the existing dichotomy of dominant gender kinship networks in rural and urban populations.

I stated a proposition, and supported that proposition in terms of the data at hand: that there is a significant difference between urban and rural dominant kinship networks; that these sociological differences appear to be the result of different economic subsystems; and, that these differences in the sociological subsystems have, in turn, generated different ideological subsystems.

I proposed, and tried to show, that the rural environment, with its farming economic base, would produce a sociological system exhibiting a strong paternal kinship network with a strong inbound orientation. This sociological subsystem, in turn, generates an ideological subsystem that exhibits a strong sense of rural kinship amity.

In contrast, in the urban population, these economic incentives are no longer in operation. There is a shift to a maternal dominant kinship network for the reason of a shared economic consideration. There is a smaller number of overall visitations occurring in the urban environment than in the rural. Further, there is a change in the ideological subsystem; the attitude of kinship rural amity seems to be fairly well diminished in importance within the urban environment.

The information presented here has raised a number of important questions including the validity of extending my conclusions outside the research area. My data base was small and geographically limited. Allied with these concerns is the question of just how widespread this phenomenon is. Will it extend cross-culturally or is it a function of only Western European culture?

Further testing needs to be done on the relationship of inherited employment and its effect on gender-dominant kinship networks. For example, if the urban maternal network of mothers and daughters is due to sharing the same occupational niche, what occurs in the case of a professional female's family, in which there is no longer sharing of the same primary professional occupation (i.e., housewife and mother)? Is there a breakdown in the maternal dominant network and, if there is, how many generations does it take for the breakdown to take full effect? Further, what is the extent of the mother-daughter relationship; is it also primarily unidirectional or does it change from environment to environment; and what kind of services are being exchanged in different situations and generations?

In terms of the rural paternal network, questions also arise. When the farm is removed from the feedback loop, just how fast does the paternal network dissolve? Correspondingly, what is the nature and extent of the paternal network in the case of the on-farm retired parental farmer? In most cases, on American farms, the parental head retires on the farm and moves

to another house on the same property, turning over the farmhouse to his successor. And, what is the exact nature of the exchanged services within the rural paternal network?

In terms of theoretical questions, a number arise. With regard to the question of rural kinship amity, is there a difference in mental templates for differences in obligations and duties to kinsmen, or are we seeing different systems of reciprocity in operation? Are there two different forms of what Sahlins has referred to as "generalized reciprocity", which he has associated with close kinship ties? He has described these as "transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given, and if possible and necessary, assistance returned" (1965:147). Sahlins felt that "a good pragmatic indication of generalized reciprocity is a sustained one-way flow" (1972:194). Needless to say, this model fits my rural paternal extended kinship network data very well. However, when the urban data are examined, a very different pattern emerges. There does not seem to be, within the confines of the extended family, a "putatively altruistic" feeling in the urban data; rather there is a feeling of obligations, the urban sample "works" as opposed to the rural "helping". There

also does not seem to be the "sustained one-way flow" that Sahlins used as a test for generalized reciprocity.

At the same time, the urban data do not fall into Sahlins' category of balanced reciprocity, which has a more economic nature and a less personal function. He stated that the majority of balanced reciprocity hinges on the material flow of items and that a good "pragmatic test of balanced reciprocity becomes an inability to tolerate one-way flows" (1972:195).

So, the question is, do different sub-systems of generalized reciprocity operate in the rural and urban extended family networks and, if they do, do they vary from gender to gender within the different environments? Alternatively, is this a relationship that still has the form of kinship, but that no longer retains the primary functions of kinship? Before proceeding to answer this question one would need more data on the expectations of a return of services or material between the members of the extended families, and how these expectations change from year to year. They would be expected to change with the lifespans of the individuals as well as with their changing

positions within the power structure of the family. Further, the question of the large number of urban visitations that were classified as ceremonial in nature must be examined to determine how the individuals felt concerning these visits. This needs to be examined to determine the relationships to reciprocity and expectations of exchange. These questions would, of course, be interesting for future research as would be research into its relationship to a feeling of kinship amity.

"Nineteenth century evolutionary theories linked family and kinship structure with the type of economy in terms of stages" (Baric' 1967). The economic structure that was examined was primarily the exchange of property rather than the exchange of services. Service points out that, until recently, the primary concern of anthropologists was the movement of valuable goods within and between primitive societies. It was only recently that the social sciences became concerned with transactions, exchanges, and altruism (Service 1985:215). Traditionally, the ". . . basic concept of economics is the allocation of scarce available resources between realizable human wants" (Firth, 1968:66). Firth went on to state that, although the dealings of anthropology ". . . falls out of the



economic sphere it must be factored in somehow" (68:73). He felt that social relationships have an economic function (68:65). That the simple "... exercise of choice in social situations involves economy of resources in time and energy" (Firth 68:70). I would have to agree that we, as anthropologists, need to take into account services rendered as a critical part of our examination of different cultures, as well as in the study of cultural evolution in relation to economic or technological change. Something that we as anthropologists should keep in mind is Frank H. Knight's dictum that the economic magnitude is not goods, but service (in Firth, 1968:71). It may very well be that we have, as cultural evolutionists, been looking for evidence of cultural evolution in the wrong types or kinds of data -- material goods as opposed to services. The latter may provide more useful data for evaluating changes in culture through time and space. If we view culture as a dynamic system with one of its primary concerns being the extraction of energy from the environment through the use of technology or economic exploitation, we should see the kind of social and ideological dichotomy that I have presented in this paper.

The problem arises when we, as researchers,

attempt to apply this line of thought to cultures that no longer exist, we must rely on data that do not include the required information, and the studies that have acquired the data were all concerned with modern industrial cultures. It would be quite interesting to apply this line of thought to other cultures that are involved in different forms of economic endeavors. Data on how hunters-and-gathers or pastoralists or horticulturists viewed kinship obligations or amity, the forms it took in terms of gender-dominant networks could provide us with some enlightening information.

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IT AND YOU WILL NOT SEE ITS HEAD.  
FOLLOW IT AND YOU WILL NOT SEE ITS BACK "

- Lao tzu